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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 9 October 1990, at 3 p.m.

President:	Mr. de MARCO	(Malta)
later:	Mr. AWOONOR (Vice-President)	(Ghana)
later:	Mr. de MARCO	(Malta)

- Tribute to the memory of Sheikh Rashid Bin Saeed Al-Maktoum, Vice-President and Prime Minister of the United Arab Emirates and ruler of Dubai

- General debate [9] (continued)

  Statements made by

  Mr. Hurst (Antigua and Barbuda)
  Mr. King (Barbados)
  Mr. Mwananshiku (Zambia)
  Mr. Cenac (Saint Lucia)
  Mr. Bull (Liberia)

- Programme of work

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The meeting was called to order at 3.25 p.m.

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF SHEIKH RASHID BIN SAEED AL-MAKTOUM, VICE-PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER OF THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES AND RULER OF DUBAI

The PRESIDENT: It is with deep regret that I must inform the Assembly of the death of His Highness Sheikh Rashid bin Saeed Al-Maktoum, Vice-President and Prime Minister of the United Arab Emirates and Ruler of Dubai. His Highness Sheikh Rashid bin Saeed Al-Maktoum became Ruler of Dubai in 1958, Vice-President of the United Arab Emirates in 1971 and Prime Minister in 1980. He will be remembered for his wise stewardship and his untiring dedication to the United Arab Emirates.

On behalf of the General Assembly and on my own behalf, I request the representative of the United Arab Emirates to convey our heartfelt condolences to the Government and peoples of the United Arab Emirates and to the bereaved family.

I now invite members of the Assembly to stand and observe a minute of silence in tribute to the memory of His Highness Sheikh Rashid bin Saeed Al-Maktoum.

The members of the General Assembly observed a minute of silence.

The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Kuwait, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Arab States.

Mr. ABULHASAN (Kuwait) (interpretation from Arabic): On behalf of the member countries of the Arab Group, which Kuwait has the honour to chair during the current month, I should like to express our sincere condolences to the delegation of the United Arab Emirates on the death of Sheikh Rashid bin Saeed al-Maktoum, Vice-President and Prime Minister of the United Arab Emirates and Ruler of Dubai.

We share with the United Arab Emirates its great loss on the death of one of the founders of the modern State of the Emirates who, throughout his great history, was a keen advocate of the welfare of his people and the promotion of the Arab cause in general. We would ask the delegation of the United Arab Emirates to convey our heart-felt condolences to the Government and people of the Emirates on this sad occasion.

May Allah, the Almighty, let his soul rest in peace. We shall all return to our God the Creator.

The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Poland, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Eastern European States.

Mr. PAWLAK (Poland): On behalf of the Eastern European Group, I should like to join the previous speakers in expressing condolences to the Government and people of the United Arab Emirates on the tragic death of their Prime Minister.

The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Sierra Leone, who will speak on behalf of the Group of African States.

Mr. KARGBO (Sierra Leone): On behalf of the Group of African States at the United Nations, it is my solemn duty to pay homage to the memory of His Highness Sheikh Rashid bin Saeed Al-Maktoum, Vice-President and Prime Minister of the United Arab Emirates and Ruler of Dubai. We are all familiar with the qualities of this noble statesman and his presence will be sorely missed.

(Mr. Kargbo, Sierra Leone)

Finally, allow me to express our deeply felt condolences to the family, people and Government of the United Arab Emirates.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Asian States.

Mr. AL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): It is with much sadness that we have heard the news of the death of Sheikh Rashid bin Saeed Al-Maktoum, Vice-President and Prime Minister of the United Arab Emirates and Ruler of Dubai.

On behalf of the Group of Asian States in the United Nations, of which I have the honour to be Chairman, and on my own behalf, I offer most sincere condolences to the people and the Government of the United Arab Emirates and the family of the deceased.

The late Sheikh was one of the most eminent personalities in the United Arab Emirates. He played a significant role in the establishment of the union and also in the prosperity of Dubai. He was an outstanding statesman who devoted his entire life to promoting the objectives of the noble Arab nation.

God's mercy upon the soul of the deceased and, once again, condolences to his family.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Bolivia, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Latin American and Caribbean States.

Mr. NAVAJAS-MOGRO (Bolivia) (interpretation from Spanish): In the midst of our work at the forty-fifth session of the General Assembly we have heard the news of the death of the Vice-President and Prime Minister of the United Arab Emirates and Ruler of Dubai, Sheikh Rashid bin Saeed Al-Maktoum.

The death of the Sheikh - precisely at the time when the Arab States are experiencing one of the most painful crises in their history - is a serious blow to

(Mr. Navajas-Mogro, Bolivia)

the countries of our region. We have always enjoyed excellent relations and friendship with those States. For that reason I express, on behalf of the Group of Latin American and Caribbean countries, our feelings of sadness and solidarity with the people and Government of the United Arab Emirates.

The entire international community is saddened by his death, which deprives his country of a tireless defender of the people's welfare.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Canada, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Western European and Other States.

Mr. MERIFIELD (Canada): On behalf of Mr. Yves Fortier, Chairman of the Group of Western European and Other States, I have the sad duty of extending the deepest sympathy of the Group and of Canada to the people of the United Arab Emirates and of Dubai, who have lost their Vice-President and Prime Minister and Ruler of Dubai, Sheikh Rashid bin Saeed Al-Maktoum.

I would especially like to extend the Group's sincerest condolences to Sheikh Rashid's family.

As other representatives have already noted in the Assembly today, Sheikh Rashid had a major influence on the development of his country. In his official position and personally he always showed dedication to international co-operation in the political and economic spheres. The memory of his accomplishments will be an excellent example to his successors.

Again I extend our deepest sympathy to the delegation of the United Arab Emirates, to the people of the Emirates and to the family of Sheikh Rashid.

The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the United States of America, the host country.

Mr. WATSON (United States of America): The people of the United States extend their sincerest condolences to the people of the United Arab Emirates as they mourn the loss of their Vice-President and Prime Minister, Sheikh Rashid bin Saeed Al-Maktoum. Our hearts go out especially to the family of Sheikh Rashid at this difficult moment.

During his tenure, Sheikh Rashid worked tirelessly to promote the welfare of his people. His insight and ability were key elements in the development of Dubai as a trading and commercial centre. The Sheikh was also intimately involved with the expansion of trade and commerce throughout the Emirates. Sheikh Rashid has left his people an impressive legacy which will be remembered in the United Arab Emirates for a long time. He will be greatly missed. We in the United States salute his memory.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of the United Arab Emirates.

Mr. AL-SHAALI (United Arab Emirates) (interpretation from Arabic): In the name of Allah the merciful, the Compassionate, "Come back thou, to thy Lord, well pleased and well-pleasing unto Him. Enter thou, then, among my Devotees" (The Holy Koran, LXXXIX:28, 29).

Last Sunday, the United Arab Emirates lost one of its most distinguished statesmen, His Royal Highness Sheikh Rashid bin Saeed Al-Maktoum. Sheikh Rashid greatly contributed to the establishment of the Union of the Emirates, in co-operation with his brother, His Royal Highness Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan al-Nahyan, the President of the State. As his deputy and Prime Minister he helped lay down the foundation of a modern State which has become a leading Union experiment and a pioneer in the Arab world.

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(Mr. Al-Shaali, United Arab Emirates)

The deceased, since he came into authority in the Emirate of Dubai in 1958, worked for the modernization of the Emirates, and when the Federation was established in 1971 his ideas and experience helped establish the State on a sound, developed and modern basis. His contributions to the wide-ranging economic situation of the Emirate - with its many welfare programmes - has made of it an international oasis. Since taking over the premiership in 1980, his political wisdom and ability have distinguished the United Arab Emirates policy abroad and at home.

While we mourn the deceased, we thank you, Mr. President, for your kind initiative and for eulogizing him before the Assembly. This was a great comfort to us. We also extend our gratitude for the feelings that were expressed by the leaders of the regional groups and of the host country. We will convey their condolences to the family of the deceased and to the Government and people of the United Arab Emirates.

We seize this opportunity to reiterate our pledge to the Assembly that the United Arab Emirates continues its policy based on international charters and agreements aimed at the maintenance of peace, security, welfare and stability for all countries of the world.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. HURST (Antigua and Barbuda): Please accept my country's congratulations, Sir, on your unanimous election as President of the forty-fifth session of the General Assembly. The people of Antigua and Barbuda feel connected to your country, not merely because we are members of the Commonwealth of Nations but also, and primarily, because Malta is a small, island country much like ours. Malta's role in international affairs serves as a beacon of achievement for small

(Mr. Hurst, Antigua and Barbuda)

countries. We congratulate you, Sir, on your election to this high office and hold great expectations for the success of this session.

My delegation welcomes Liechtenstein to the family of nations and wishes to express particular pride in the admission of a small State. Small States need the United Nations; membership for us is neither a luxury nor an afterthought. However, if the events of the past eight weeks have taught a single new lesson, it is that large and powerful States have an equal need for the United Nations. The rule of law, so necessary for the preservation of peace, is of paramount importance if the principle of the sovereign equality of States is to endure. Small States can be assured of the permanence of their sovereignty by being Members of the United Nations, the world's parliament and peace-making body. We congratulate the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, on the leadership role he has played in securing peace.

(Mr. Hurst, Antigua and Barbuda)

Permit me also to express my profound respect for your predecessor, Ambassador Garba of Nigeria. My delegation worked closely with him during these past 12 months since the representative of Antigua and Barbuda was elected Vice-President of the General Assembly at its forty-fourth session. We have come away, Sir, with the highest regard for his intellect and for his skill as a diplomat. His leadership during countless negotiating sessions confirms the faith placed in him last year and explains the admiration he has won. The people of my small country extend special thanks to former President Garba for the kind words addressed to me in his parting statement.

Twenty-five years ago, three outstanding Caribbean statesmen - Errol Barrow of Barbados, Forbes Burnham of Guyana and Vere C. Bird, my Prime Minister - met at Dickenson Bay, Antigua, to lend their signatures to the charter of what is known today as the Caribbean Community. My small, developing, island country takes pride in knowing that it has served as the bedrock of regional integration in the Caribbean. The Caribbean Community, 25 years old this year, now embraces every English-speaking independent country in the Caribbean and three non-independent Caribbean States. As the regional integration movement in the Caribbean gains momentum, our experience has confirmed the assertions made in 1965 by the founders of the Caribbean Community. They had long argued that seemingly intractable common problems within and among nations are best tackled by the multilateral approach. My island country will thus continue to promote multilateralism, convinced that it does provide the mechanism for co-operation, continuity and peaceful coexistence. We view the United Nations as the principal stage for the promotion of this common-sense approach to problem solving.

It is widely recognized, for example, that the prestige of the United Nations today is higher than it has ever been. My delegation is firmly convinced that the

(Mr. Hurst, Antigua and Barbuda)

unanimous condemnation of Iraq for its invasion and annexation of Kuwait is possible in 1990 because of the multilateral approach adopted in the hour of crisis. If nations large or small, wealthy or poor, are to be persuaded to turn their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks, then multilateralism must become a tenet of the foreign policy of States, and the mechanism of the United Nations must be relied upon as an integral actor. The United Nations must not be made merely a convenient tool to be included in or excluded from tumultuous world events at the whim of States; the legitimacy of the United Nations will quickly be eroded if it appears to be the handmaiden of a few.

My Government and people join in the universal condemnation of Iraq. As a small State, we feel a bond with the people of Kuwait, we share their sense of loss and outrage, and we wish them to know that my small, developing, island country will do all that it can within these walls and elsewhere to help bring an end to the injustices perpetrated by the invaders.

Another injustice, perpetrated by indifference and greed, brews without surcease in the Caribbean country of Haiti. In 1804, when the Haitian revolutionary Toussaint L'Ouverture succeeded in eradicating slavery from Haiti, he heralded a new world order which, in the three decades following, hastened the end of the evil system of slavery throughout the Caribbean. Haiti became the first independent republic of transplanted Africans in the New World. As we stand on the threshold of another new world order, democracy in Haiti cries out for assistance. The United Nations is being asked to provide a tested method of assistance at the behest of the Government of Haiti. My small Caribbean country, determined to repay its historical debt to Haiti and to lend shape to the emerging new world order, has joined in sponsoring a draft resolution which is sure to be adopted unanimously by this Assembly. A resolution on Haiti does not, however, translate into material

(Mr. Hurst, Antigua and Barbuda)

assistance; it behooves us to make pledges of financial support for the electoral process in Haiti and to contribute to the eventual rebuilding of an economically viable and politically stable Haiti. If we do not succeed with this initiative, if we fail in this venture, then we shall have failed in our effort to contribute to the creation of a fair and decent world.

A fair and decent South Africa eludes us for yet another year. The evil system of apartheid has been shaken by continued universal condemnation; the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and the unbanning of the African National Congress and other political groups are the direct result of the mounting pressure brought to bear on South Africa by sanctions imposed by the United Nations. Those sanctions cannot be relaxed at this time.

My country and people welcome the far-reaching changes taking place in South Africa. We continue to call on the racist régime to move swiftly to dismantle apartheid, conscious of the fact that the longer official racism remains in place the more difficult will be the reconstruction period following its demise. Apartheid must be dismantled now in order to save South Africa's black and white children from suffering the pain and misery inflicted on adults and children alike by an oppressive and unjust system maintained by force.

The continued violence against indigenous peoples in the modern world cannot be allowed to continue. A year ago Antigua and Barbuda issued a call for their protection following revelations that more than 200,000 indigenous people had perished by violent means in the preceding twelve-month period. The plight of the world's indigenous peoples since then has improved not at all. Gold-miners, land-grabbers and thoughtless criminals have invaded the lands of indigenous peoples, causing disease, environmental degradation and massive disruption of traditional life. The islands of my Caribbean were once the home of several

(Mr. Hurst, Antigua and Barbuda)

indigenous peoples that were virtually exterminated by war and slavery, beginning in 1492. Today's indigenous peoples fight, like the heroic Caribbean peoples of centuries past, against more formidable foes, who will surely also drive them into extinction. Antigua and Barbuda will thus readily give its support to the Group for the Study of Indigenous Populations, connected to the United Nations Subcommittee for the Protection of Minorities, in proposing that 1992 should be declared the "International Year of the Indigenous Peoples of the World".

Two years after becoming a Member of the United Nations, Antigua and Barbuda joined with Malaysia and several other developing countries to press for the protection of Antarctica. It would not be unreasonable to conclude that we are disappointed with the progress made thus far; yet we hold great expectations for the outcome of the environmental protection conference of the Antarctic Treaty Consultative Parties to be held in Chile next month.

(Mr. Hurst, Antigua and Barbuda)

We assert the right of the Secretary-General or his representative to be present, though we acknowledge the greater need for non-Treaty parties to have a meaningful role in the decision-making process. It is our firm belief that Antarctica should be brought under the umbrella of control of the United Nations. The frozen continent must not become the possession of large States only.

My country is unshakably pledged to the cause of preserving Antarctica as the common heritage of all mankind. Our contribution to the debate on the rational uses of Antarctica is an extension of our commitment to the preservation of the environment. Threats to the Earth's environment have multiplied a thousandfold since the start of the industrial revolution, at the turn of this century. In less than 100 years, mankind has succeeded in upsetting the ecological balance which evolved over the 3,500 million-year history of our planet. Within the next 40 years, it is estimated that mankind will burn more fuel than has been consumed since the discovery of fire half a million years ago. Increasing levels of pollution, coupled with a simultaneous decrease in the ability of natural systems to absorb atmospheric wastes, will accelerate environmental decline.

Rain forests, the most valuable of mankind's terrestrial assets, are being destroyed at an alarming rate daily. Our oceans are polluted by various contaminants - including fertilizer run-off, industrial wastes and oil spills - while low-lying agricultural lands world wide, including entire islands in the Caribbean and in the South Pacific, are threatened with submersion by rising sea-levels brought about by global warming and the melting of the polar ice-caps. Ours is an ill planet which will become more ill unless our countries are willing to alter significantly our patterns of consumption.

Ironically, the wellspring of this state of affairs can be found in causes stemming from both wealth and poverty. Developed and developing countries both

(Mr. Hurst, Antigua and Barbuda)

contribute. The solutions therefore lie in both national and international action. My country thus welcomes the 1992 Conference on Environment and Development, to be hosted by Brazil, and applauds the Maldives for the Conference on Sea-Level Rise held recently.

One month ago at the United Nations Congress on Crime, held in Havana, my Government outlined its policies to combat international crime - one of the modern scourges of mankind. And, at the special session on drugs earlier this year, we shared with the Assembly our concerns and the approaches we have adopted to eliminate the danger posed by drug trafficking.

At the Congress on Crime and at the special session on drugs, the consensus clearly pointed to a need for a multilateral assault on the purveyors of these evils. My country has thus formulated a regional plan of action in concert with eight other Caribbean island nations to deter regional drug traffickers and to dissuade criminals with grandiose schemes. We have formed a regional security force which is prepared to respond swiftly and forcefully to any threats to its members' sovereignty.

My Government has also given its support to the proposal, put forward by Trinidad and Tobago, to breathe new life into the idea of an international criminal court of justice. We are confident that such an institution would provide a workable mechanism as part of a whole range of services required for the fair administration of international criminal justice.

Drug trafficking and criminal terrorism pose special security problems to island countries with hundreds of miles of unguarded shorelines and with scarce resources to match the ultra-modern equipment which wealthy drug barons have the wherewithal to purchase. But beyond security lies another problem.

(Mr. Hurst, Antigua and Barbuda)

We have learned from other island countries in advanced stages of development, like Singapore, that investment in children and youth is the most certain route away from under-development. Priority in my island country has thus been given to the development of human resources. To neglect our human resource base is to undermine the potential for future economic growth. Yet, scarce financial resources must be diverted to combat drug traffickers and criminal terrorists, while official development assistance slows to a trickle and borrowing, at lower than the market rate of interest, has become unavailable. My relatively poor island-developing country, with a per capita income barely exceeding $2,000 per annum, has been graduated to a middle-income country, thereby putting concessionary loans beyond our grasp. Small island countries so vulnerable to devastating natural catastrophes, so lacking in natural resources and with exceedingly small populations, cannot reasonably be judged by the same economic yardsticks as populous, resource-endowed, large countries.

We therefore call once again for the use of more reliable economic indicators in judging the well-being of small island-developing countries.

The economic well-being of an independent Namibia is of great importance to Antigua and Barbuda. We welcome Namibia to this forum as a free, independent Member country. Our small voice was frequently raised in condemnation of South Africa for its unlawful occupation of Namibia, and we have recently matched our words with a financial contribution to the nation-building exercise. Political independence can become meaningless if economic conditions remain poor and Namibia remains dependent on South African goodwill.

Continuing on the African continent, we wish the people of Western Sahara also to know that they can count on our continued support in their struggle for self-determination. My country welcomes the approval by the Security Council of the

(Mr. Hurst, Antigua and Barbuda)

Secretary-General's plan to supervise a cease-fire between Morocco and the POLISARIO, and to organize and conduct a referendum.

Antigua and Barbuda is equally pleased by the decision of the Cambodian parties to accept an enhanced role for the United Nations and to form a Supreme National Council to facilitate negotiations.

There has been no progress in Cyprus and the situation in Lebanon appears to be at a stalemate. We must redouble our efforts here at the United Nations to bring these tortuous civil wars to an end. We will also continue to seek a just solution to the Palestinian problem.

In Central America we welcome the triumph of peace and rejoice with the Nicaraguan and Panamanian peoples. We adhere to our earlier pronouncements that economic injustice is the root cause of many of the conflicts in that region. They were exacerbated by cold-war tensions, which, thankfully, have disappeared. Until economic reforms are instituted, Central America will continue to experience civil strife.

(Mr. Hurst, Antigua and Barbuda)

We have also witnessed a lessening of tensions in Europe. On 3 October 1990, the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, previously separated by a hideous man-made wall, peacefully reunited and became the nation of Germany. This remarkable change is perhaps the most encouraging indicator that East-West cold war tensions are disappearing. The destruction of the Berlin Wall demonstrates the irreversible changes taking place on the eastern half of the European continent. On behalf of the Government and the people of Antigua and Barbuda, my delegation welcomes the new Germany to the United Nations, and extends heartfelt best wishes to its Government and its people.

The lessening of tensions can also be witnessed on the Korean peninsula. It is our hope that the Koreans, like the Germans and the Yemenis, will join hands one day soon. Until that day, my country supports the Republic of Korea in its request for membership in the Organization. We consider unjust the continued denial of membership for reasons other than those stipulated in the Charter of the United Nations.

As mankind approaches the final decade of the twentieth century, it is faced with the task of fashioning what is increasingly being called a new world order. It is our function at the United Nations to give structure to current events so that the world of the twenty-first century may be better organized. Our task is to meet the needs of the human family while minimizing environmental degradation, eliminating brutal dictatorship, ending apartheid and senseless discrimination against women, and dispensing an acceptable standard of health, housing and education to the world's poor and powerless.

A country as small as my own will not pretend to have a measurable impact upon any emerging new world order; but it would be dangerously presumptuous for large nations to assume that there is nothing to be learned from small countries.

(Mr. Hurst, Antigua and Barbuda)

It was the Haitian revolution which hastened the destruction of slavery and paved the way for the introduction of a new economic system in the Western hemisphere at the dawn of the nineteenth century. It is Liechtenstein, the smallest State Member of the United Nations, which enjoys the highest per capita income of any country in the world. It was Marcus Garvey of Jamaica who fired the minds of African and Caribbean leaders in the struggle to eliminate colonialism in the twentieth century. It was Sir Arthur Lewis of Saint Lucia whose writings on development economics and whose practical suggestions for economic development plans earned him the Nobel Prize for economics 12 years ago.

Antigua and Barbuda can be counted on to live up to its responsibility to its people, to its region and to the world at large. Whatever the forum, be it the Cabinet, the Caribbean Community or the community of nations, my country will courageously promote those ideas that constitute the corner-stone of a new world order.

"Small size", my Prime Minister has frequently said, "does not mean small minds or the absence of grand ideas." And the grandest ideas are peace and justice.

Mr. KING (Barbados): Mr. President, I am pleased to join those who have congratulated you on your well-deserved election as President of the forty-fifth session of the United Nations General Assembly. I am particularly delighted that you, a representative of a small island State, should have received this honour, at a time when the United Nations has achieved such pre-eminence.

May I also take this opportunity to endorse the tributes paid to your distinguished predecessor, His Excellency Major-General Joseph N. Garba, for his masterful management of the forty-fourth session, and to express our appreciation to His Excellency Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar for his steadfast stewardship as Secretary-General of the Organization.

(Mr. King, Barbados)

On behalf of the Government and the people of Barbados, I should also like to avail myself of this occasion to extend a warm welcome, on behalf of the Government and the people of Barbados, to Liechtenstein, as it joins the community of nations within the Organization.

A mere two months ago, the world seemed poised on the threshold of a new and exciting era. Prospects for world peace were better than at any other time within the 45-year history of the United Nations. Today, the crisis in the Gulf caused by Iraq's blatant aggression in invading neighbouring Kuwait is placing a damper on those prospects, and is a reminder of the fragility of peace. The Government of Barbados condemns the invasion of Kuwait, and calls for an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Iraqi forces. We consider the invasion a flagrant violation of the norms of international law and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

At the beginning of the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly, no one would have predicted the significant changes which would take place throughout the world in less than one year. An end to East-West confrontation has led to significant political, social and economic changes in Eastern Europe. Today we salute the peoples of Germany on their reunification and welcome them to the United Nations as a single State.

In a similar vein, my Government is heartened by the dialogue now taking place between the Governments and the peoples of the Korean peninsula. We look forward to the early and full representation of the peoples of Korea in the United Nations in keeping with the principle of the universality of the Organization.

My delegation is particularly encouraged by developments in southern Africa. The people of Namibia have gained their independence and have taken their rightful place in the Organization. In South Africa, we welcome the release of Mr. Mandela,

(Mr. King, Barbados)

the unbanning of the African National Congress and other political parties and the relaxation of some other restrictive measures. The delegation of Barbados is also encouraged by the two rounds of talks at Groote Schuur and at Pretoria and by other areas of progress, as indicated in the report of the Secretary-General on the progress made in the implementation of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, adopted by the General Assembly at its sixteenth special session.

But a great deal more still needs to be done before the system of apartheid can be abolished and a truly representative non-racial democratic society established in South Africa. The steps towards that goal, set out in the Declaration adopted at the special session, have been reaffirmed in resolution 44/244, unanimously adopted by the General Assembly on 17 September 1990. We view the developments which have occurred merely as steps in the right direction. We call on the international community to maintain all forms of pressure, including sanctions, to ensure that the evil of apartheid is eradicated from the face of the Earth.

(Mr. King, Barbados)

The war between Iraq and Iran has come to an end, the conflicts in Afghanistan and Central America have been largely resolved, and the long-standing crisis in Cambodia seems to be on the way to an acceptable resolution. One feature of the current wave of success is the primary role played by the United Nations and in particular by the Security Council. With the demise of super-Power confrontation and ideological polarization there now exists a refreshing spirit of co-operation, and prospects for lasting world peace have never been so good. For the first time in its existence the United Nations now has an ideal opportunity to build and maintain the world order for which the Organization was created. To do so successfully, of course, requires commitment and adherence to the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

The decisive manner in which the Security Council has gone about its business in recent weeks provides tangible evidence of the crucial and unique role of the United Nations in preserving world peace and security. For as grave as is the crisis in the Gulf, it has also provided an admirable opportunity to demonstrate the extent to which the international community can co-operate in the quest for peace and justice. It is to be hoped that this new-found spirit of co-operation will prevail on other occasions when the national interests of the super-Powers happen to coincide.

Of course we fully support all the United Nations Security Council resolutions which, among other things, condemn Iraq's aggression, call for its immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait and impose mandatory economic sanctions on the aggressor. Iraq's aggression not only is a threat to international peace and security, but also brings sharply into focus the inherent vulnerability of small States to assaults on their security, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and it points to the vital need small States have for the United Nations to safeguard

(Mr. King, Barbados)

their interests. It is thus critically important that the United Nations should prevail in the current crisis, not because this may be in the strategic interest of the more powerful nations but because what Iraq has done violates fundamental principles of international law which govern relations among States.

If any good is to come from this crisis it is my Government's fervent hope that, after the withdrawal of Iraqi forces and the restoration of the sovereignty of Kuwait, the Organization will turn its urgent attention with equal vigour to finding a peaceful and comprehensive settlement of the outstanding conflicts in the Middle East.

The new-found spirit of international political co-operation, marked by the decrease in ideological tensions, presents a golden opportunity for the powerful and industrially advanced States to bring about a major redistribution of resources in the creation of a new world order.

However, we fear, with some justification, that the industrialized nations may be directing their attention internally, within the North, at the expense of the South. As the East-West divide narrows, the North-South gap seems to widen. And so we remind the countries of the North that developing countries continue to face burdens such as the net outflow of resources, increasing trade protectionism, the reduction of concessionary and other financial flows, and ever-increasing oil prices. Unless the international community addresses these critical problems, I fear that the international peace and security for which we all so desperately yearn will continue to elude us. Through new and creative solutions let us reap the dividends of our investment in peace - perhaps in different ways, but equitably distributed.

While Barbados is concerned about the economic plight of developing countries in general, I take this opportunity to highlight some of our own special problems as a small, middle-income island, developing State. My country, Barbados, is

(Mr. King, Barbados)

excluded from the debt-relief programmes of the international financial institutions because we are not classified as a least developed country. Other debt-reduction plans do not address our peculiar situation. Continued access to concessionary financing is being effectively denied us because of an over-emphasis on the gross national product (GNP) per capita criterion, precisely at a time when our economy faces great challenges. The irony is that we are being penalized for sound economic management.

The Government of Barbados is of the view that a more dynamic and realistic approach to the provision of development assistance must be adopted. This should give due emphasis to the regional and subregional dimensions of development. For it has become abundantly clear that development will, in the final analysis, be fragile if the need for regional linkages, co-ordination and complementarity are not recognized. In addition, increased emphasis must be placed on enhancing the role of developing countries as suppliers of the inputs, both material and advisory, for regional technical assistance programmes funded by the United Nations.

Perhaps no greater challenge faces mankind in the closing decade of this century than that of fostering environmentally sound economic development. This task has been entrusted, as it should be, to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, to be held in Brazil in 1992. The success of the 1992 Conference will depend on our ability to reach agreement on measures to enhance resource and technology transfers to developing countries. This is essential if developing countries are to be enabled to play their role in implementing more sustainable patterns of development.*

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* Mr. Awoonor (Ghana), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. King, Barbados)

Today there is widespread international concern about the problem of drug trafficking. This concern was evident at the forty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly and at the seventeenth special session, devoted to international co-operation against illicit production, supply, demand, trafficking and distribution of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances.

It is the view of my delegation that one of the major advances at the seventeenth special session was the recognition that the demand for narcotic drugs is as deserving of concerted international action as the supply. Further emphasis was given to the demand component by the Declaration adopted at the World Ministerial Summit to Reduce the Demand for Drugs and to Combat the Cocaine Threat, held in London in April this year. We believe that the measures contained in the London Declaration will greatly complement the existing multilateral framework to combat drug abuse.

In my country, Barbados, our Parliament this year passed new and extensive legislation to combat drug trafficking. Provision has been made to forfeit and confiscate the drug-related assets of convicted drug offenders. Penalties for drug-related offences have been sharply increased and new offences relating to drug trafficking have been created. I am happy to report that Barbados will shortly accede to the Vienna Convention on narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances.

It is my Government's belief that an indispensable condition for peace among nations and the rational development of the resources of this planet for the good of all peoples is the observance of human rights and democracy.

(Mr. King, Barbados)

It is for that reason that the Government of Barbados pursues policies of creating and strengthening international instruments for the promotion of human rights. It is for that reason that the Government of Barbados will speak out wherever and whenever flagrant abuses of human rights and violent usurpations of democracy occur. It is also for that reason that we condemned the recent violent assault on the democratically elected Government of our sister republic of Trinidad and Tobago.

In pursuance of our policy to support instruments that promote human rights, I am happy to announce that I have today deposited my country's instrument of ratification of the historic Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Barbados looks forward also to the adoption of a Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Their Families, so that thousands of men and women from developing countries who contract to work in foreign lands will be protected from exploitation and abuse.

The international community is familiar with the efforts of the Haitian people to achieve social and economic progress within a stable democratic framework. The Heads of Government of Caribbean countries have, over the years, followed the situation in Haiti with deep concern for the welfare of the Haitian people. Caribbean Community Ministerial Missions and Working Groups of Senior Electoral Officers from Caribbean States have visited Haiti in the past year, seeking to help our sister Caribbean country in its efforts at democratization and economic development. At their meeting in Jamaica, in July 1990, Heads of Government of Caribbean States reaffirmed their willingness to co-operate with the Government and people of Haiti, with the United Nations and with the Organization of American States in providing assistance for the holding of free and fair elections in Haiti.

(Mr. King, Barbados)

The General Assembly at its forty-fifth session will be asked to consider a resolution co-sponsored by Caribbean and Latin American States requesting assistance with the electoral process in Haiti. We hope that that resolution will receive the unanimous support of this Assembly and that its provisions will be implemented without delay.

Despite the serious threat to international peace and security currently confronting the world - indeed, ironically, almost because of it - the forty-fifth session of the Assembly has opened in an unprecedented atmosphere of optimism, expectation and confidence.

At this critical juncture in history, States Members of the United Nations must use this momentum to forge a co-operative approach to the management of our planet Earth that addresses the root causes of conflict, inter alia the extreme economic and social inequalities between and within States, hunger, poverty and disease.

Man, who has created the computer and conquered the moon, who has split the atom and decoded the gene, now has the chance in an age of entente to harness his creativity intelligently towards the development of the whole human family and towards the preservation and enhancement of the environment in which he lives. It is appropriate and necessary that the United Nations should take the lead in structuring the new agenda for development for all by the year 2000.

Mr. MWANANSHIKU (Zambia): I join the speakers who have preceded me in congratulating you, Sir, on your well-deserved election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-fifth session. We are living in critical times characterized by revolutionary changes in world politics. My delegation is therefore pleased that a seasoned and well-respected leader is guiding the work of this Assembly. We have no doubt that, given your vast experience in international affairs, you will steer our deliberations to a successful conclusion.

(Mr. Mwananshiku, Zambia)

Your predecessor, Major-General Joseph Garba of Nigeria, presided over the last session with exemplary zeal at a time of unprecedented developments, particularly in Eastern Europe and southern Africa. Indeed, the world witnessed during his tenure of office the successful implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), leading to the independence of Namibia. We commend him most sincerely for his tireless efforts in the promotion of global peace.

It is with great pride that my delegation welcomes the Republic of Namibia as a Member of the United Nations. We are happy that the independence of Namibia has closed the sad chapter of colonialism on the continent of Africa.

My delegation is also delighted to welcome in our midst the Principality of Liechtenstein. Liechtenstein's admission to the world body brings us a step closer towards the realization of the goal of universality.

I also wish to take this opportunity to express our profound gratitude to our Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for the commendable efforts he continues to make in the promotion of international peace and security.

Since we last met to review the complex issues confronting the world, a number of events have come to pass. Of these, the most important is, of course, the welcome improvement in the relations between the super-Powers, resulting in the end of the cold-war era and in the emergence of a process towards the elimination of hotbeds of tension in the world.

Forty-five years ago the founding fathers of our Organization envisioned a world in which peace and security would be preserved through international co-operation and understanding. With the end of the cold war, mankind has, for the first time since the end of the Second World War, an opportunity to bring about the realization of that vision through the abolition of nuclear and chemical weapons and the reduction of conventional weapons throughout the world.

(Mr. Mwananshiku, Zambia)

Against this background, my delegation welcomes the recent positive achievements in the area of arms control and disarmament. In this regard, the agreement to eliminate a class of nuclear weapons, which was signed between the Soviet Union and the United States in 1987, represents an important corner-stone and a good beginning. Since then, efforts aimed at a reduction in strategic missiles have continued. We look forward to an agreement on a treaty on strategic missiles, which we hope will be signed soon. The ultimate goal, however, remains the eventual complete elimination of all weapons of mass destruction from the face of the Earth. To achieve that goal, there has to be a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty, which will forbid improvements in weapon systems of mass destruction. We have also welcomed the continuing efforts aimed at the projected destruction of stockpiles of chemical weapons, and we call for a total ban on the manufacture of those destructive weapons.

(Mr. Mwananshiku, Zambia)

We have followed with great interest the negotiations in Vienna on the reduction of conventional weapons in Europe. We welcome the progress made and we congratulate those involved in the negotiations.

Let me now turn to southern Africa. The front-line States continue to follow events in South Africa with keen interest and some concern. While we have welcomed the "talks about talks" between the African National Congress of South Africa and the Government, which have resulted in the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes, we remain concerned about the increase in violence in black townships in recent times, which has led to great loss of life and property.

We reaffirm our call on the Government of South Africa to end without further delay the ongoing violence in townships and deal with those who are behind it. At the same time we urge all anti-apartheid organizations in South Africa to demonstrate unity of purpose against their common enemy, the apartheid system itself.

The international community has a binding responsibility to ensure that apartheid is eradicated. The Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa we adopted by consensus last December remains a blueprint for establishing a climate conducive to negotiations leading to the ultimate elimination of apartheid.

We are delighted that the Assembly continues to remain unanimous in its conclusions that the measures taken thus far by the South African régime do not constitute profound and irreversible change, as called for in the Declaration, and that therefore this is not the time to relax the existing sanctions against South Africa. Our judgement remains that the oppressed people of South Africa, which the sanctions were intended to support in their struggle against apartheid, are the best judges of how and when the sanctions should be removed.

(Mr. Mwananshiku, Zambia)

In Angola, talks between the Government and UNITA aimed at a peaceful solution to the conflict in that country are under way. We appeal to those external Powers aiding UNITA to stop such assistance so that negotiations can take place in an atmosphere free of violence. Similarly, in Mozambique the peace initiatives of the Government should be encouraged and supported. In both Angola and Mozambique, millions of people have been displaced by the wars imposed on those countries from outside. As a result, many children, women and old people continue to suffer from the effects of destabilization. We appeal to the international community to extend humanitarian assistance to both Angola and Mozambique.

The front-line States and the other neighbouring States in southern Africa, which have suffered great devastation in both human and material terms at the hands of the apartheid régime, also need international assistance to enable them to rebuild their economies. Indeed, South Africa's policy of destabilization against neighbouring States through the use of its proxies continues unabated. In the case of my own country, the activities of the RENAMO bandits are on the increase, resulting in great loss of life and property. The most recent case took place on 26 September 1990 in the Eastern Province of Zambia, in which an ambush by RENAMO resulted in the death of 10 Zambians and the destruction of several vehicles. It is against this background that we reiterate our call for increased assistance to enable the affected countries to rebuild their economies as called for in the Declaration.

We are saddened by the civil war in Liberia, which has brought about untold suffering among innocent civilians. We appeal to the international community to send urgent humanitarian assistance to the people of Liberia to alleviate their suffering. We welcome the regional initiative taken by the countries members of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in helping to bring peace to Liberia.

(Mr. Mwananshiku, Zambia)

In Western Sahara, we commend the efforts of the Secretary-General as well as of the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity for their continuing efforts towards the holding of a referendum for self-determination.

With regard to Cambodia, we welcome the unity of purpose displayed by the Cambodian people that has resulted in the formation of the Supreme National Council. We commend the countries members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) for their contribution to this development. We look forward to a peaceful transition within the framework of the plan by the five permanent members of the Security Council.

Zambia congratulates the people of Yemen for the historic decision to merge their divided country into a single republic.

In Korea, we welcome the talks by the Prime Ministers of the two countries. We hope that this interaction will lead to the realization of the aspirations of the Korean people to achieve unity through peaceful means. In the same spirit, Zambia warmly welcomes the reunification of Germany.

In Afghanistan, it remains our hope that recent talks between the United States and the Soviet Union will pave the way to the achievement of a lasting peace in that troubled country.

In the case of Cyprus, we note with regret that, despite the efforts of the international community to find a solution to the problems of that country, there appears to be little progress in that regard. We therefore appeal to the Secretary-General to persevere in his efforts to resolve the crisis and urge the parties concerned to co-operate with him.

In Central America, we are gladly witnessing a transformation from conflict to an unprecedented atmosphere of national and regional reconciliation. We hope that this process will ultimately lead to lasting regional peace, stability and development.

(Mr. Mwananshiku, Zambia)

We view the recent events in the Gulf region with great concern. Zambia maintains good relations with both Kuwait and Iraq, which are fellow members of the Non-Aligned Movement. In the context of our friendly relations with both of them, we have called on Iraq to withdraw its forces from Kuwait in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions and urged both countries to resolve any outstanding differences between them through negotiations.

The Gulf crisis has given rise to many ramifications. One of these is the apparent relegation to the background of the question of Palestine. The plight of the Palestinians, of which this Assembly has been seized since 1948, must be addressed with the same ferocity and determination as is being shown in the case of the Gulf crisis. It should be remembered that there will be no real peace in the Middle East until the rights of the Palestinian people are justly addressed.

Zambia continues to believe that an international conference should be convened under the auspices of the United Nations at which all parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), should be represented. This is the only way the concerns of Israel, the PLO and the rest of the Arab nations can be addressed.

Secondly, the Gulf crisis has given rise to serious economic and financial problems. I am referring, for example, to the loss of revenue suffered by those countries that are close to the region and that are required by the international community to participate in the enforcement of the sanctions. The international community is making efforts to minimize the financial losses suffered by these countries. However, nothing so far is being done to assist them, especially the oil-importing countries in Africa, whose external positions have been adversely affected by the escalation in oil prices.

(Mr. Mwananshiku, Zambia)

I wish to take this opportunity to appeal to the international community to come to the assistance of those countries, including Zambia, whose economies are being seriously disrupted as a result of the Gulf crisis.

The third aspect of the Gulf crisis relates to policy and, in particular, to the enforcement of Security Council resolutions. Since the beginning of the Gulf crisis, much has been said in this Assembly and in the Security Council itself about the principle of the inadmissibility of acquiring territory by force. This, of course, is a cardinal principle in international relations, and we in Zambia subscribe fully to it. We do believe, however, that this noble principle should be universally applied: whereas it is of course within the competence of the United Nations to demand that one country should withdraw its forces from another, whose territory it is occupying vi et armis, that demand should apply equally to all countries whose forces are illegally occupying the territories of others. It is only in this way that double standards will be avoided and confidence in our Organization enhanced.

Let me touch now on a number of economic and social issues. The reduction in ideological tensions and the resultant improved atmosphere for political discourse are providing us with a unique opportunity now and in the coming decades to bring the pressing issue of economic co-operation to the top of the global agenda. For many years now, this question has lingered unresolved and, as a result, economic growth and development have not been attained world wide. On the contrary, the position of developing countries, especially in Africa, has continued to worsen.

Innovation, far-sightedness, imagination and statesmanship are needed to resolve the question of economic relations, especially those between North and South. The status quo cannot be consolidated any further without risking global instability. Problems such as the net transfer of financial resources from the

(Mr. Mwananshiku, Zambia)

developing countries, which amounted to $26 billion last year, simply cannot continue without destroying the basis for future co-operation.

Recent innovations and initiatives in respect of the external debt crisis, which has been with us since 1982, offer some hope. The Toronto Summit initiative, the Brady strategy and the recent British and French initiatives come to mind here. But for many countries that are affected, more requires to be done to mobilize resources for investment which will enable them to grow out of the debt problem.

One aspect of the debt crisis is that an increasing number of low-income countries are finding themselves owing much of their debt to multilateral financial institutions. The burden of servicing the debts owed these preferred creditors has become inconsistent with resumed growth and creditworthiness, and is an issue which requires additional and new solutions.

The field of trade policy is full of uncertainties as to what direction the international trading system will take. Experts advise us that the results of the Uruguay Round will be modest if the current mood surrounding the negotiations prevails. The positions of developed countries on the issues of subsidies, tariffs, quantitative restrictions and other non-tariff barriers exhibit an unwillingness on their part to establish new rules of trade within the principle of free trade.

Issues pertaining to the environment and development have acquired especial importance, and deserve global recognition. Indeed, this is as it should be. It is heartening to note the common commitment to the preservation of our environment, which is manifesting itself in a new spirit of international co-operation. In this regard, we in Zambia look forward with keen interest to the forthcoming United Nations Conference on Environment and Development.

(Mr. Mwananshiku, Zambia)

The irresistible interest of the international community in the issues of human rights and democracy and in their relation to questions of economic development signifies a deep-rooted desire for human progress to be anchored in justice, equity and self-sustainability. Zambia welcomes this growing interest. The record of human rights and democracy in Zambia is true to the ideals of social justice and fair play. The Zambian Government is keen to respond to the democratic aspirations of all the people of Zambia, and works relentlessly to maintain this position; our latest move is towards pluralistic politics, which will be used to consolidate our democratic traditions and institutions.*

However, there are some odd notions, on the issues of human rights and democracy, which need to be discarded by the international community. There is a need, for example, to discard the tendency to think that a few countries are the pillars of human rights and democracy and that all the others must be measured by how close they come to the likeness of those few countries. The diverse cultures and history of the human race, which was bred and is sustained in circumstances that are in no way uniform, should be sufficient impetus for an early demise of such notions. What is required is for each country to develop institutions and structures that are appropriate to its own experience and reflect the needs and wishes of its people.

The insidious scourge of drugs leaves no room for complacency. International co-operation against the illicit production, supply, trafficking and distribution of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances, and against the demand for them, must be intensified.

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* The President returned to the Chair.

(Mr. Mwananshiku, Zambia)

Similarly, the problem of AIDS calls for the international community to evolve more strategies for its containment and eradication. The incidence of the disease is growing, and is in many cases threatening the family unit. We need to counter this danger with the degree of activism to be expected from a society threatened with extinction.

Zambia attaches great importance to the welfare of children. In this regard, we welcome the recent adoption by this Assembly of the World Declaration on the Survival, Protection and Development of the Child, and of the Plan of Action. Along with the adoption of the Convention on the Rights of the Child and other related instruments, the international community has now firmly established the political and executive frameworks for fostering the emergence of an enabling environment where all our children, and their children, can develop without the violence of neglect, deprivation, abuse and exploitation.

In conclusion, I wish to reiterate our belief that, given the political will, the States Members of the United Nations can make our Organization play the important role for which it was created: namely, the maintenance of international peace and security and the promotion of co-operation and understanding between States so as to ensure the success of multilateralism. The world needs peace and economic prosperity.

As we approach the last decade of the twentieth century, let us, in the spirit of the prevailing international political order, work together to enhance collective security in order to ensure a peaceful and stable world for the generations of the next century and beyond.

Mr. CENAC (Saint Lucia): I should like to join previous speakers in congratulating you, Sir, upon your unanimous election to the presidency of the forty-fifth session of the General Assembly. We are all well acquainted with your superlative qualities and accomplishments. I therefore have no doubt that you will guide our deliberations to a successful conclusion in the coming months. You may expect nothing but co-operation from the delegation of Saint Lucia.

I should also like to thank your predecessor, Major-General Joseph Garba, for the excellent manner in which he conducted our affairs during the forty-fourth session.

This year we have seen both expansions and reductions in the membership of the most important world Organization. I am pleased to be able to note our loss of numerical membership with the unification of Yemen and the reunification of Germany. The unity of the peoples in these two countries speaks well for the brave new time in which we live, a time of hope and opportunity. We must not squander it.

The admission of a free, independent Namibia to membership of the United Nations earlier this year was the fulfilment of a dream; it took many years of struggle, both on the ground in South West Africa and on the diplomatic front here in New York. I am pleased, as everyone should be, that this struggle has reached a successful conclusion. I am therefore most honoured to welcome Namibia to the ranks of the Organization.

Liechtenstein, too, after two centuries of international relations, has joined the Organization this year. I extend Saint Lucia's congratulations to the Government and people of Liechtenstein. We look forward to working closely with them far into the future.

These promising times give new urgency to the principle of the universality of the United Nations. Saint Lucia therefore strongly supports the aspiration of the Republic of Korea to membership in the United Nations, for, as has already been

(Mr. Cenac, Saint Lucia)

shown twice this year, membership in the United Nations need not be made an obstacle to national reunification.

The final decade of this millenium finds the world poised on the threshold of new opportunity, at a crossroad from which there is a choice of direction. We may go down new roads of political peace and economic opportunity, or we may choose the status quo ante - business as usual.

But we, today's generation of leaders, must choose carefully, lest future generations condemn us for having squandered precious opportunities. We cannot allow behaviour, in the Persian Gulf or elsewhere, not in consonance with our purposes to shatter the march of progress.

The twilight of totalitarianism seems to be returning some parts of the world to the brink of a frightening resurgence of nascent nationalism, threatening to unleash a latent ethnic parochialism that can lead not to national unity but to international balkanization. If ethnic nationalism, whether in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe or South Africa, spins out of control, we shall be plunged into a dangerous new world of balance-of-power politics, with constantly shifting coalitions that can only reach a dénouement of forceful consolidation.

The new political order must be buttressed by an enhanced international security system, within the purview of the Charter of the United Nations, that promotes the peaceful settlement of disputes and can react quickly to extinguish fires before they rage out of control. In this, the Decade of International Law, the rule of law must predominate in the conduct of international relations. International law must never again be silent in the face of naked power.

In this vein, the world has justly condemned the invasion and occupation of Kuwait by Iraq. It is a blatant act of raw aggression which will long live in infamy, not only because it is a wicked act of aggression of a large, militarily strong State against a small, weaker neighbour, but also because it comes at a time

(Mr. Cenac, Saint Lucia)

when the arrow is pointed in the direction of peace, destroying the opportunity for a new Peace of Westphalia, and again bringing the world to the brink of another major war. As a small, peace-loving State, Saint Lucia finds the Iraqi political position to be totally indefensible, and we hope that Iraq will come to recognize that its military position is untenable as well. Saint Lucia hails the members of the Security Council for their unprecedented co-operation on this matter, and we have already taken the necessary domestic actions to ascertain that we are in full compliance with the Council's mandates. Our hearts go out to the thousands of people, both Kuwaitis and foreigners, whose lives were disrupted by this invasion.

In fine, it was wrong for powerful Iraq to have invaded a powerless neighbour, thus violating its sovereignty and territorial integrity. It is right that the United Nations should unite its strength to force the aggressor to remove itself from Kuwait. For what is right can never be wrong, and what is wrong can never be right.

As the cold war has ended, the United Nations too has come in from the cold. Friends of the Organization have long said that if it did not exist it would have to be invented. Saint Lucia is pleased that it does exist, and now in its forty-fifth year is stronger and more vigorous than ever before in solving the problems we continually create.

Indeed, the past few years have been the years of the United Nations. Again and again the Organization has been a good broker of peace, both in domestic and in international wars, and has entered bold new electoral areas, such as in Namibia and Nicaragua, to ensure that the voice of the people calling for the enthronement of democracy is not denied a just hearing.

The people of Haiti too, who have suffered for far too long, look to the Organization to assist them in going with the tide of democracy that is sweeping the world. Legalistic notions of strict constructionism vis-à-vis the Charter

(Mr. Cenac, Saint Lucia)

should not be used to throw obstacles in the way of the people of Haiti as they seek to shed their authoritarian legacy and rebuild an economy that can only be described as war torn. We in the Caribbean Community see our own fate as linked to that of the people of Haiti, not only until the December elections but forever more. Haiti, therefore, cannot be allowed to miss this last train. Within the purview of the Organization of American States (OAS), Saint Lucia has already dispatched an electoral team to Haiti. We look forward to doing the same within the ambit of the United Nations as well.

The seeds of destruction of the vile system of apartheid have been sown with the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), setting South Africa on an ineluctable course to genuine democracy. There can be no turning back. Saint Lucia is therefore most distressed by the fratricidal violence among ANC and Inkatha supporters that has claimed so many lives in the past few weeks. We hope that this internecine conflict will quickly come to an end, paving the way for a united front in the negotiations to end apartheid. The global community demonstrated its unanimity on the question of official racism only last month by its consensus adoption of the resolution at the resumed session of the General Assembly on apartheid. We can expect no less a demonstration of solidarity from the victims of apartheid.

(Mr. Cenac, Saint Lucia)

Saint Lucia praises the steps taken so far to bring apartheid to a long-overdue end but wishes to make it for ever clear that the removal of economic sanctions will be supported only when real democracy has come to South Africa through the adoption of a system of "one man, one vote".

Unfortunately, we continue to have a number of problems that have proved intractable and thus resistant to the tide of change and conciliation that has been sweeping the world. The Palestinian intifadah has passed its one-thousandth day and continues unabated with no end in sight. The Palestinian dream of a homeland, therefore, seems as far away as it ever was, having been dealt a regressive blow by the current terrible events in the Persian Gulf region.

The long-term conflicts in Angola, Mozambique and the Horn of Africa have yet to reach final solutions, and new problems in Liberia cause us great concern. The same is true in Cyprus, where no progress has been made in the talks between the leaders of the two Cypriot communities.

However, in other areas, such as Cambodia and Western Sahara, we are on the road to comprehensive settlements, and Saint Lucia continues to support the efforts and involvement of the United Nations.

Despite scattered pockets of bellicosity, the world, for the first time in many decades, stands at the periphery of the possibility of international peace. With a sweep of the political wand, we are well on the way to revising the historical definition of East and West. The traditional definition of North-South, too, must be revised, and that will take a political decision of an economic nature, a decision which will turn the Plan of Action for the Fourth United Nations Development Decade into an economic and fiscal blueprint for the development of the South.

(Mr. Cenac, Saint Lucia)

Having failed to attain the majority of the goals and objectives of the Third Development Decade, it is critical, especially in today's volatile international economic atmosphere, that the goals of the Fourth Development Decade, which I expect we shall adopt unanimously in the coming weeks, should be addressed with a purposeful seriousness by both North and South in order to promote their realization with all deliberate dispatch.

Last May we adopted the Declaration on International Economic Co-operation and Development, setting out an agreed understanding for the revitalization of economic growth and development of the developing countries, so as to realize the basic rights of all human beings to a life free from hunger, poverty, ignorance, disease and fear.

That Declaration, in our view, reflects an international consensus on the critical economic situation of the developing countries when viewed in the aggregate. Close to 1 billion people in the developing world still live in a state of chronic hunger and malnutrition, and each year 13 to 18 million of them die because of hunger.

Last year the developed market economies grew by 3.5 per cent, continuing their longest period of economic expansion in post-war history. However, at the same time, 1989 growth in the developing countries was at its lowest in six years, down by almost 1.5 per cent from the year before, even though the collective value of their exports did increase by some $80 billion.

In my own region, Latin America and the Caribbean, the 1980s have aptly been given the designation of the "Lost Decade". At the end of 1989 real per capita product in the region stood at the level of 13 years earlier. The rate of growth declined from 5.5 per cent in the 1970s to just over 1 per cent in the 1980s. As a result, per capita gross domestic product this year is almost 10 per cent lower than it was in 1980.

(Mr. Cenac, Saint Lucia)

Between 1980 and 1988 Latin America's terms of trade fell by about 25 per cent. However, it was even worse for Africa and West Asia, as their terms of trade fell by almost 40 per cent. A major economic crisis was averted by an almost equal decline in fuel prices, amounting to about 50 per cent, during the same period. But, even as I speak, the terms of trade continue to decline for many non-oil-exporting developing countries as the cost of fuel, ignited by the crisis in the Persian Gulf region, is again going up, affecting the man-in-the-street in the South and the collective meagre foreign exchange reserves of many poor countries. This could create a critical economic situation, given the fact that most of the affected countries entered the 1990s under the burdens of the recessionary inertia of the 1980s and their heavy external commitments.

As we enter the final decade of the century, the Latin American and Caribbean region continues to be beset by major shortcomings, including the increasing obsolescence of its stock of capital goods and physical infrastructure, a growing gap between the intensive technological changes taking place in the world and their lack of application in the region, and the frustration of an ever-increasing number of people trying to enter the work-force. In fact, this year may well be the third consecutive year of negative per capita growth in Latin America.

In the decade of the 1980s, political interaction in Latin America was strengthened, but public institutions were weakened. While popular political participation became the modus vivendi, structural adjustment had an extremely high social cost for the middle-level and popular strata. Thus, vast numbers of people made political gains while they progressively lost economic support.

Fledgling democracies are often endangered by lack of economic foundations which allows for an equal rate of growth of political and economic development.

(Mr. Cenac, Saint Lucia)

President George Bush's Enterprise of the Americas, with its tripartite pillars of trade, investment and debt reduction, is therefore timely.

In meeting these challenges, we in the region have taken many bold initiatives, aimed at consolidating and buttressing the economic potentialities of the region. High on this agenda of initiatives is the economic integration of the 34 million people of the Caribbean into the larger continental Latin subregion. These activities have been given a great fillip by recent actions of the Government of Mexico, taken both at the level of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean and by President Carlos Salinas de Gortari himself.

In the Commonwealth Caribbean subregion, we are extremely delighted that the historic, linguistic, demographic and other criteria that have long separated us from Latin America are falling by the wayside as we have come to recognize that the things that bind us are far greater than those that separate us. We look forward to this deepening of the integration process, always mindful to remain in compliance with the most-favoured-nation provisions of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Though Saint Lucia is not among the least developed countries, those countries are high on our list of concerns. As the 300 to 400 million people of Western Europe look forward to a bright and prosperous future beyond the watershed expectations of "fortress Europe" in 1992, the 300 to 400 million people of the least developed countries look forward only to a bleak economic future.

In the 1990s growth in the least developed countries did not reach expectations, achieving only about one third of the 7.2 per cent target of the Substantial New Programme of Action which was adopted in 1981. This was aggravated by the decline in investments in the least developed countries by about 2 per cent

(Mr. Cenac, Saint Lucia)

per year through the 1980s; and during the same period, agricultural output in the least developed countries failed to keep pace with population growth. Both the share of world exports and the terms of trade of the least developed countries have been on a seemingly inevitable downward slide as the modest Official Development Assistance target of 0.15 per cent which they expected was not realized.

(Mr. Cenac, Saint Lucia)

The failure of last month's Paris meeting to reach a new, agreed official development assistance target for the least developed countries is therefore most discouraging.

Nine of the 42 least developed countries face the additional, monumental difficulty of also being small island-developing countries.

In a rapidly changing economic world, small island-developing countries struggle to keep pace, weighed down by a host of peculiar developmental problems, among which are poor resource endowments; reliance on a few primary export products; extremely small domestic markets; limited possibilities for industrialization and, therefore, little opportunity for import substitution; almost total dependence on foreign capital and social and physical infrastructure; and, certainly not least among these particular problems, the proneness to natural disasters.

In 1980, nearly 90 per cent of my country's gross domestic product was destroyed by a hurricane. Fiji suffered a similar fate more recently, losing more than 40 per cent of its sugar output. The same is true of Tonga, where in 1982 a hurricane destroyed 50 per cent of the housing and 90 per cent of the banana crop. Saint Lucia is therefore gratified that the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme will have more resources available for disaster mitigation in the fifth programming cycle. We also see as positive the successful outcome of the first Meeting of the Governmental Experts of Island Developing Countries and Donor Countries and Organizations, which we held in June this year. It was the first small step by the global community in recognizing that small island-developing countries have particular problems and special needs that are different from those of developing countries in general.

(Mr. Cenac, Saint Lucia)

The stagnation in international trade in the last decade has left a residual legacy of protectionism in the developed market countries that cannot be justified by their current unemployment trends. Non-tariff measures continue to reduce world trade by over $300 billion annually. The successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round in the coming months should usher in a more liberal trading régime to the benefit of both North and South.

We the members of the Caribbean Group for Co-operation in Economic Development (CGCED), though members of a number of preferential trading arrangements, experienced average unit-price declines for our total exports. This meant that over the past decade we have had to export more and more goods to earn the same level of income. And had we in aggregate not had modest increases in our exports of manufactured goods, declining primary commodity prices would have negatively affected all of our balance sheets.

On the positive side, prospects for multilateral development assistance improved last year as commitments rose to $35 billion, of which $2 billion were commitments for the operational activities of the United Nations. And net resource transfers to developing countries, through multilateral development loans, rose by some $3.5 billion.

The economic integration process of the developing world also improved last year as we in the Caribbean community gave new impetus to our trading relations under the Treaty of Chagaramus, and we saw the signing of the Asian-Pacific Economic Co-operation Forum Agreement, the Arab Maghreb Union Treaty and the Arab Co-operation Council Agreement.

In conclusion, then, we are poised on the periphery of a new political dawn. But we must seize the day in the economic realm also, especially in the developing countries, for political tranquillity cannot thrive in the midst of economic and social deprivation.

Mr. BULL (Liberia): On behalf of the Liberian delegation I should like at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-fifth session. We extend our best wishes for success in the execution of the responsibilities that this high calling entails. In this undertaking I assure you of the fullest co-operation of the Liberian delegation. Indeed, your consummate diplomatic skills and wealth of experience in international affairs assure us that the current session will be marked by laudable accomplishments, thus contributing to the noble goals of the United Nations.

I also have the keenest pleasure in conveying the sincere appreciation of the Liberian delegation to your illustrious predecessor, Ambassador Joseph N. Garba, a distinguished son of Nigeria and Africa, for the most efficient manner in which he conducted the business of the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

My delegation commends the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his untiring efforts in the cause of international peace and security. His selfless devotion to the United Nations has brought a renewed sense of appreciation for the role multilateral diplomacy can play in the realization of mankind's cherished dream of a stable international environment.

We welcome the Republic of Namibia as it takes its seat for the first time at a regular session of the General Assembly as a sovereign and independent State. My delegation also welcomes the Principality of Liechtenstein as the newest member of this body.

I have come to this rostrum with great sadness because, even as I speak, a tragedy continues to unfold in my country, Liberia - a country which attained its independence 143 years ago out of man's inherent aspiration to be free and to determine his own destiny.

(Mr. Bull, Liberia)

Liberia, Africa's oldest Republic, and a founding Member of the United Nations, is today experiencing a brutal and devastating civil war. Liberia, a country which has enjoyed peace and stability for most of its nationhood, is today being torn asunder. Liberia, a country of almost 3 million people, has been virtually destroyed, its population decimated and hundreds of thousands forced to become refugees abroad and displaced within their own homeland.

(Mr. Bull, Liberia)

I take this podium on behalf of those innocent victims of the civil war to call on the international community to bring an end to that war, a war which continues to inflict incalculable loss of human life and property. On behalf of all Liberians whom I am duty-bound to represent here today, I call upon the Organization to end this tragedy.

As Members are aware, this crisis erupted on 24 December 1989 and has continued unabated until today, with no end in sight.

Early attempts to settle the conflict peacefully proved futile. Appeals were made to the United Nations and to the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to prevail upon all parties to enter into negotiations aimed at peacefully resolving the crisis. Later the Liberian Council of Churches sought to mediate in the dispute, and when that failed, the Heads of State and Government of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) undertook mediatory efforts.

Following a further deterioration of the crisis, we appealed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations on 31 July 1990 to have the Security Council seized of this matter. Indeed, we argued that the Liberian conflict could not be viewed as a purely internal matter, since over 500,000 Liberians were refugees in neighbouring African countries, and the continuation of the conflict would adversely affect not only the stability of the subregion but international peace and security as well.

After consultations with the members of the Security Council, it was decided that the United Nations would defer to ECOWAS, which had earlier been a mediator in the conflict.

It is against that background that the Heads of State and Government of the Mediation Committee of ECOWAS, meeting at Banjul, the Gambia, on 6 August 1990

(Mr. Bull, Liberia)

proposed a peace plan which, inter alia, called for: (1) an immediate cease-fire; (2) the dispatch of a peace-keeping force or cease-fire monitoring group (ECOMOG) to ensure the maintenance of the cease-fire; (3) the convening of a national conference of all Liberian political parties and other interest groups for consultations on the formation of a broadly based interim administration; and (4) the holding of free and fair elections within 12 months.

As we are aware, ECOMOG was deployed in Liberia. At a conference held at Banjul, a group of Liberians, representing all recognized political parties and interest groups, elected an interim Government. Subsequently, on 9 September 1990, the Liberian leader, President Samuel Doe, was killed.

In spite of those developments, the civil war continues. The majority of the Liberian people are now the unfortunate victims of the crisis. They should not continue to be denied their inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness in a peaceful and stable political environment of their own choosing.

Indeed, recent events in Liberia should teach us that political change through violence only perpetuates a circle of violence and that the best hope for the country lies in the development and protection of its democratic institutions.

We therefore renew the call for all factions in the civil war to agree to an immediate cease-fire and urgently to enter into dialogue, so as to resolve the conflict peacefully, as envisaged by the ECOWAS peace plan. It should be remembered that so long as the conflict remains unresolved, it is the Liberian people who will continue to suffer.

Let us at this time, however, acknowledge with grateful appreciation all countries and relief organizations which have unhesitatingly offered food, clothing, shelter and other assistance to my countrymen who were forced to flee

(Mr. Bull, Liberia)

Liberia, as well as to those who are displaced within the country. We also thank all of those countries and individuals who continue to mediate in the Liberian crisis, and we pray for God's blessings upon each of you.

Similarly, we call upon those nations, institutions and individuals that, in any way, have contributed or continue to contribute to the human suffering in Liberia to bring an end to the civil war.

The wave of democratization which has swept across Eastern Europe must be allowed to flourish in countries like Liberia. And the United Nations has a moral responsibility to support the advancement of the frontiers of freedom and the development of democratic institutions throughout the world.

It is because of the rapprochement between the United States and the Soviet Union and the end of the cold war that opportunities have been unleashed for nations. As a result, we see the world today standing united against Iraq's aggression against, and occupation of, Kuwait. A once divided Germany has been reunited. In Eastern Europe, countries which heretofore operated under rigidly controlled systems are breathing the refreshing air of freedom and democracy. Within this context, the Liberian delegation entertains the hope that the emerging partnership of co-operation will lend itself to the identification of durable solutions to conflicts in Cambodia, Cyprus, the Middle East, Western Sahara, the Korean peninsula and Central America. We welcome and support expressions for the reunification of the Koreas and membership within the United Nations.

Indeed, the support of the ECOWAS peace plan is a direct result of the renewed willingness of the States Members of the United Nations to adhere to Article 52 of the Charter, which encourages the resolution of conflicts through regional arrangements.

(Mr. Bull, Liberia)

But more needs to be done. There appears to be an urgent need to take a fresh look at the Charter of the United Nations, especially the provision calling for non-interference in the internal affairs of Member States. Perhaps the Secretary-General's insight into the problem provided a sobering reflection when, in his 1990 report on the work of the Organization, he said:

(Mr. Bull, Liberia)

"Today, in a growing number of cases, threats to national and international security are no longer as neatly separable as they were before. In not a few countries, civil strife takes a heavy toll of human life and has repercussions beyond national borders. The disintegration of the institutions of government and society in one country and senseless slaughter in another are two appalling instances. Separatism, by no means a rare phenomenon, causes strains on both the country directly affected and its immediate neighbours. Anarchy in one State means mass migrations which unsettle another." (A/45/1, p. 15)

The situation in Liberia undoubtedly fits this description. And in this case, the law of necessity supersedes every legal norm. In the cause of humanity the United Nations is obligated and challenged to act to restore peace to Liberia.

Should the human rights of a people be violated? Should suffering and death be visited upon a people while the United Nations remains silent because the problems are perceived to be internal? Let the United Nations decide! Indeed, the rights of all peoples are indivisible and if the United Nations is to be true to its moral obligations under the Charter then it must be seen to act quickly in addressing human tragedies wherever they occur - in the Persian Gulf, the West Coast of Africa or elsewhere.

The urgent need of Liberia at this time is to end the fighting, install the interim government and demilitarize and disarm the many who bear guns and other weapons of destruction. That government would have the primary task of organizing and holding, within 12 months, free and fair elections under international supervision. There are also the formidable tasks of healing the national wounds, resettling the over two million displaced Liberians and reconstructing the country

(Mr. Bull, Liberia)

and its economy, which have been devastated by war. There is also the task of restoring faith to the Liberian people who are undergoing mental and physical torture.

In order to address these challenges confronting Liberia, we request the Members of the Organization and the Secretary-General urgently to assist Liberia to achieve three major objectives: first, the United Nations is requested to use its moral authority and influence to end the civil war and support the ongoing peace initiative; secondly, the world body is called upon to provide urgent humanitarian assistance to displaced Liberians as well as material and financial assistance for their resettlement and for the reconstruction of war-torn Liberia; and, thirdly, the Liberian people desires the development of democratic institutions and calls upon the United Nations to provide technical assistance in supervising the holding of democratic elections in Liberia.

As we approach the twenty-first century there is an urgent need for the energies and resources of the international community to be focused on the remaining issues on the agenda of the twentieth century. If our accomplishments in the resolution of conflicts are to be lasting, we must also demonstrate the requisite will to achieve co-operation designed to redress inequities in international economic relations. There are appalling disparities between the rich North and the impoverished South. We must therefore resolve that the East-West confrontation will not be supplanted by an imminent North-South divide.

Pertinent among the remaining issues is the looming problem of underdevelopment, particularly in the third world. Abject poverty, manifesting itself through ignorance, disease and various social ills, defies amelioration by individual States. In this respect, concrete solutions can be found if concerted international action is launched to bridge the widening gap in economic prosperity between the North and the South. The Liberian delegation associated itself with

(Mr. Bull, Liberia)

the recommendation of the South Commission that under United Nations auspices, periodic summits of leaders from a representative group of developed and developing countries be convened to review the world economic situation, particularly the examination of the interrelationship among the various components of the world economy. Liberia remains ever hopeful that the United Nations, with its current enhanced status, is poised and ready to meet these challenges.

Liberia, a founding Member of the Organization, is experiencing a national catastrophe. Today, history has ordained that we serve as the conscience of our people and call upon the United Nations with utmost urgency to address the situation in Liberia and help bring an immediate end to the tragic civil war.

A few days ago, in this very Hall, 71 Heads of State and Government committed themselves to giving children a better future. Our children, Liberian children, like all other children of the world, are bleeding, sick, starving, without shelter and, more important, without hope. Can this body allow the destruction of not only Liberia's future but of the world's future to go unnoticed? I ask you in the name of God and humanity to come to Liberia's aid in recognition of the fact that we are indeed our brother's keeper.

PROGRAMME OF WORK

The PRESIDENT: I should like to give members an outline of the tentative programme of plenary meetings for the rest of October.

On Tuesday, 16 October, in the morning, the Assembly will take up item 10, "Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization"; item 20, "Co-operation between the United Nations and the Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee"; item 21, "Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of American States"; item 24, "Co-operation between the United Nations and the Latin American Economic System"; and item 149, "Observer status for the International Committee of the Red Cross".

On Tuesday, 23 October, the Assembly will take up item 14, "Report of the International Atomic Energy Agency". In the afternoon of that day, the Assembly will also take up item 150, "Tenth anniversary of the University for Peace".

On Wednesday, 24 October, in the morning, the Assembly will hold a meeting to observe the fortieth anniversary of multilateral technical co-operation for development within the United Nations system.

On Thursday, 25 October, in the afternoon, the Assembly will take up item 26, "Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of the Islamic Conference"; item 25, "Co-operation between the United Nations and the League of Arab States"; item 30, "Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity"; item 22, "Implementation of the Declaration on the Right of Peoples to Peace"; item 31, "Zone of peace and co-operation of the South Atlantic"; and item 29, "The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security".

(The President)

I should like to remind members that while the Assembly fixed the date of Monday, 16 September 1991, for the closing of the forty-fifth session, it also fixed the date of Tuesday, 18 December 1990, for the Assembly to recess until next year. Therefore, we should try to complete our work by that date.

Further, I should like to inform representatives that the Pledging Conference for Development Activities will be held on Thursday, 1 November, and Friday, 2 November. The Conference will be opened by the Secretary-General.

This tentative schedule which I have just announced will appear in the verbatim record of this meeting as well as in the Journal summary. In the meantime, if there are changes, I shall keep the Assembly informed.

The list of speakers for all the items I have mentioned is now open.

The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.